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ACTION AF-00

INFO LOG-00 NP-00 AID-00 ACQ-00 CIAE-00 DINT-00 DODE-00 DOTE-00 SRPP-00 DS-00 DS-00 EB-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 EUR-00 FAAE-00 FBIE-00 H-01 LAB-01 VC-00 IO-00 L - 0.0VCE-00 AC-01 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 OPIC-01 PA-00 PM-00 PRS-00 ACE-00 P-00 SP-00 STR-00 TRSE-00 USIE-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRM-02 DRL-02 G-00 NFAT-00 /011W SAS-00

FM AMEMBASSY HARARE TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7724 INFO NSC WASHDC SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 006658

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH LONDON FOR CGURNEY PARIS FOR BWILLIAMS NAIROBI FOR PFLAUMER PASS USAID FOR AFR/SD - DWELLER, AND AFR/SA - CPALMA,

NNEWMAN

PASS USTR - ROSA WHITAKER

CONFIDENTIAL

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/28/10
TAGS: <u>PGOV PINR PHUM ZI</u>
SUBJECT: ZANU-PF WINS MARONDERA WEST BY-ELECTION; LOW

TURNOUT LIKELY THE RESULT OF PRE-ELECTION INTIMIDATION

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR TOM MCDONALD FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

11. (C) SUMMARY: THE RULING PARTY ZANU-PF CANDIDATE WON THE BY-ELECTION FOR THE MARONDERA WEST PARLIAMENTARY SEAT HELD NOVEMBER 25 AND 26. VOTING WAS PEACEFUL, BUT THE TURNOUT WAS LOW - JUST UNDER A THIRD OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS. DISTRICT RESIDENTS TOLD EMBASSY AND NGO PERSONNEL ON NOVEMBER 25 THAT THERE HAD BEEN A HIGH DEGREE OF INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS IN THE RUN-UP TO THE BY-ELECTION BY ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS, WAR VETERANS, AND THE POLICE AND MILITARY THAT RESULTED IN ONE DEATH. INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS WAS NOT EVIDENT TO US ON THE VOTING DAYS OF NOVEMBER 25 AND 26. POLL WATCHERS FOR BOTH ZANU-PF AND MDC WERE ALLOWED TO MONITOR THE VOTING AND SAFEGUARD THE BALLOT BOXES, BUT DUE TO THE PRE-ELECTION INTIMIDATION, THE ELECTION CANNOT BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN FREE AND FAIR IN OUR JUDGEMENT. END SUMMARY.

THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE WINS, BUT WITH A SMALLER MAJORITY

12. (C) THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE IN THE MARONDERA WEST BY-CONFIDENTIAL

HARARE 06658 01 OF 02 282215Z ELECTION, AMBROSE MUTINHIRI, A RETIRED BRIGADIER GENERAL AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO YUGOSLAVIA, WON THE ELECTION, BUT GARNERED FAR FEWER VOTES THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, WHOSE DEATH IN A CAR ACCIDENT IN JULY BROUGHT ABOUT THE BY-ELECTION. THE NOVEMBER 28 ISSUE OF THE GOZ-CONTROLLED "THE HERALD" NEWSPAPER REPORTED MUTINHIRI RECEIVED 7,376 VOTES VERSUS 4,366 VOTES FOR THE MDC CANDIDATE SHADRECK CHIPANGURA. MUTINHIRI RECEIVED ALMOST 4,000 FEWER VOTES THAN THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE IN LAST JUNE'S PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, WHILE THE MDC CANDIDATE ONLY RECEIVED 200 FEWER VOTES. THIS LOWERED VOTE TALLY OCCURRED EVEN THOUGH ZANU-PF PULLED OUT ALL THE STOPS IN THE CAMPAIGN, WITH BIASED MEDIA COVERAGE, THE USE OF WAR VETERANS TO PROMOTE THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE AND INTIMIDATE MDC SUPPORTERS, AND PERSONAL CAMPAIGNING BY CHENJERAI "HITLER" HUNZVI, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION, AND RETIRED ZDF GENERAL AND ZANU-PF HEAVYWEIGHT SOLOMON MUJURU.

MARONDERA WEST BY-ELECTION HELD ON UNEVEN PLAYING FIELD

- 13. (C) ECONOFF, THE USAID DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE OFFICER, A USAID FOREIGN SERVICE NATIONAL AND A SOUTH AFRICA-BASED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE OBSERVED THE BY-ELECTION ON NOVEMBER 25 AND 26. CANDIDATES FROM THREE PARTIES RAN FOR THE VACANT SEAT, BUT THE RACE REALLY BOILED DOWN TO A CONTEST BETWEEN THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE AND THE MDC CANDIDATE. THERE WERE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE ZDF HAD SENT CONFIDENTIAL
- PAGE 04 HARARE 06658 01 OF 02 282215Z SOLDIERS TO CAMPAIGN FOR MUTINHIRI, AND THAT THE RULING PARTY BROUGHT IN SUPPORTERS FROM NEIGHBORING AREAS TO CAMPAIGN AND POSSIBLY EVEN VOTE ILLEGALLY FOR HIM. THERE WERE ALSO ALLEGATIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S (GOZ) MINISTRY OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT, GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION HAD BOUGHT THE VOTES OF YOUTH AND OTHER VOTERS IN THE DISTRICT.
- 14. (C) THE MDC HAS REPORTED THAT THERE WAS A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION IN THE WEEKS PRECEDING THE BYELECTION. THIS ALLEGEDLY INCLUDED MILITARY AND POLICE PERSONNEL GOING FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE AT NIGHT INTIMIDATING THE OCCUPANTS. WAR VETERANS WERE ALSO OUT IN FORCE, AND WERE STILL SEEN BY US CAMPED OUT IN THE DISTRICT ON NOVEMBER 25 AND 26. WAR VETS ALLEGEDLY ATTACKED AND BROKE THE LEGS OF TWO MDC SUPPORTERS THE DAY BEFORE THE ELECTIONS. ON NOVEMBER 25, CHENJERAI "HITLER" HUNZVI ALLEGEDLY HELD A PISTOL TO THE HEAD OF AN MDC POLL WATCHER, AND THEN CHASED THE POLL WATCHER AND ANOTHER MDC SUPPORTER AWAY FROM THE POLLING STATION, ACCORDING TO A EUROPEAN UNION ELECTION OBSERVED. OUR SOURCE TOLD US THAT A ZIMBABWEAN WHO OBSERVED THIS INCIDENT SAID TO HUNZVI "ARE WE GOING TO DO THIS IN A CIVILIZED MANNER?", TO WHICH HUNZVI ANGRILY REPLIED "I AM NOT A CIVILIZED PERSON." BOTH HUNZVI AND RETIRED ZIMBABWE DEFENSE FORCES GENERAL SOLOMON MUJURU WERE SEEN BY THE MISSION OBSERVERS IN THE DISTRICT ON NOVEMBER 25.

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R 281458Z NOV 00 FM AMEMBASSY HARARE TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7725 INFO NSC WASHDC SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 HARARE 006658

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VOTING IN BY-ELECTION IS PEACEFUL

15. (C) THE VOTING TOOK PLACE IN A PEACEFUL MANNER ON NOVEMBER 25 AND 26. OUR OBSERVERS DID NOT WITNESS ANY CLEAR INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS ON THESE TWO DAYS. THEY WERE NOT ACCREDITED BY THE GOZ, AND THEREFORE OBSERVED VOTING ON AN UNOFFICIAL BASIS. ON NOVEMBER 25, THEY ENTERED A NUMBER OF POLLING STATIONS AND WERE ABLE TO VERIFY THAT POLL WATCHERS FOR BOTH ZANU-PF AND THE MDC WERE PRESENT AT ALL STATIONS VISITED. POLICE AND ELECTION OFFICIALS WERE GENERALLY FRIENDLY WHEN

APPROACHED. THE OBSERVERS ALSO VISITED THE CENTRAL APPROACHED. THE OBSERVERS ALSO VISITED THE CENTRAL COMMAND STATION FOR THE ELECTION, AND WERE INTRODUCED TO THE HEAD ELECTION OFFICIAL, WHO STATED THAT HE WAS FROM THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION. (NOTE: THE GOZ MINISTRY OF INFORMATION NO LONGER EXISTS, AS IT WAS RECENTLY FOLDED INTO THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE. END NOTE.) MISSION OBSERVERS HAD TO SIGN THEIR NAMES ON VISITORS' ROLLS AT TWO OF THE POLLING STATIONS VISITED, AND POLL OFFICIALS NOTED THAT THE PERSONNEL WERE FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY. NOVEMBER 26, THE ATTITUDE AND RECEPTION AT THE POLLING STATIONS TOWARD THE AMERICAN OBSERVERS WAS NOTABLY CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 06658 02 OF 02 282215Z FROSTIER. IT APPEARED THAT POLLING OFFICIALS AND POLICEMEN HAD RECEIVED WORD NOT TO INTERACT OR TALK WITH THE OBSERVERS.

LOW TURNOUT FOR THE BY-ELECTION

16. (C) THE BY-ELECTION HAD BEEN TOUTED AS A TEST OF ZANU-PF'S, AND INDIRECTLY PRESIDENT MUGABE'S, STRENGTH AND POPULARITY VERSUS THE MDC. THERE WAS AN INTENSE PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN PERIOD MARRED BY VIOLENCE BETWEEN ZANU-PF AND MDC SUPPORTERS, WHICH CULMINATED IN A CONFRONTATION THAT RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF A BYSTANDER, KILLED BY A STRAY BULLET. A PLANNED VISIT TO THE DISTRICT BY MDC PRESIDENT MORGAN TSVANGIRAI TO ADDRESS A CAMPAIGN RALLY WAS CANCELLED, BECAUSE OF CONCERN THAT TSVANGIRAI'S SAFETY COULD NOT BE GUARANTEED AND THAT

VIOLENCE MIGHT ERUPT. AFTER THIS INTENSE CAMPAIGN, LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS. THE NOVEMBER 28 ISSUE OF "THE HERALD" REPORTED THAT 12,322 VOTERS OUT OF 37,600 REGISTERED VOTERS, OR 32.88 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE, CAST THEIR VOTE. THE COMPARES TO 16,947 VOTES CAST IN THE DISTRICT IN THE JUNE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. THIS

- 17. (C) COMMENT: WHILE THE VOTING OCCURRED IN A RELATIVELY PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT WITH POLL WATCHERS FROM BOTH ZANU-PF AND MDC ABLE TO MONITOR THE VOTING, THE FACT THAT THE BALLOT WAS PRECEDED BY BIASED MEDIA COVERAGE AND A TWO-WEEK CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION AND CONFIDENTIAL
- PAGE 04 HARARE 06658 02 OF 02 282215Z VIOLENCE CHIEFLY BY ZANU-PF AND ITS SUPPORTERS, STRONGLY SUGGESTS THIS WAS NOT A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION IN OUR JUDGEMENT. THE PREVAILING VIEW OF THE MISSION OBSERVERS WAS THAT THE PRE-ELECTION INTIMIDATION CLEARLY PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT PART IN REDUCING VOTER TURNOUT. EVEN WITH THIS PRE-ELECTION INTIMIDATION, AND THE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF "HITLER" HUNZVI AND SOLOMON MUJURU, THE ZANU-PF CANDIDATE RECEIVED ALMOST 4,000 FEWER VOTES THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, WHILE THE MDC CANDIDATE RECEIVED ONLY 200 FEWER VOTES THAN IN LAST JUNE'S PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. TO US, THIS IS AN INDICATION THAT THE MDC HAS HELD ONTO ITS CORE SUPPORT UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES, WHILE ZANU-PF'S SUPPORT HAS ERODED. END COMMENT.

MCDONALD

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